

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ARA-10 EA-10
NEA-10 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /105 W
-----009570 060711Z /11

O 060545Z APR 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0489
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01261

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

CAPE TOWN PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR MCHENRY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETINGS OF APRIL 5

REF: STATE 87036

1. SUMMARY. CONTACT GROUP MET IN MORNING AND AFTERNOON
SESSIONS APRIL 5. MORNING SESSION WAS CONFINED TO
DISCUSSION OF TIMING OF SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF
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NAMIBIA. IN AFTERNOON SESSION GROUP DISCUSSED APPROACH
TO SWAPO ON WALVIS BAY. END SUMMARY.

2. CONTACT GROUP MET MORNING AND AFTERNOON APRIL 5.
MORNING SESSION WAS CONFINED TO DISCUSSION OF TIMING
OF SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF NAMIBIA. US OPENED
MORNING MEETING BY OFFERING US IDEAS (REFTEL) ON HOW

FIVE SHOULD PROCEED IN THE COUNCIL. POLCOUNS SUGGESTED THAT THE FIVE PRESENT A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SC ON APRIL 10, SUBMITTING THE PROPOSAL TO BE CIRCULATED AS AN SC DOCUMENT. THE SC PRESIDENT WOULD HOLD INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS APRIL 11 TO DISCUSS AGENDA ON NAMIBIA. FORMAL SESSIONS OF SC COULD THEN BEGIN SHORTLY THEREAFTER. POLCOUNS SAID THAT THE FIVE SHOULD, OF COURSE, INFORM SWAPO, SAG, AND AFRICAN GROUP IN ADVANCE OF FIVE'S INTENTIONS BEFORE MOVING INTO THE SC. POLCOUNS STATED THAT THE US FEELS THE PURPOSE OF MOVING QUICKLY TO THE SC IS TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM AND TO GET A TIMELY RESOLUTION CONTAINING AN ENDORSEMENT OF THE PROPOSAL BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. A SUBSEQUENT STAGE OF SC ACTION COULD DEAL WITH A RESOLUTION PROVIDING THE SYG WITH A SC MANDATE TO APPOINT THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND PROCEED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN.

3. THE CONTACT GROUP AGREED THAT THE PROPOSAL COULD BE FORMALLY TRANSMITTED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT ON MONDAY, APRIL 10. THEY AGREED THAT SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD, THEREFORE, BE INFORMED ON APRIL 7 OF OUR INTENTION TO TRANSMIT THE PROPOSAL (DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA CONTAINED PARA 12 AND 13 BELOW.) THE OTHER FOUR URGED, HOWEVER, THAT THE FORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETINGS BE DELAYED A FEW DAYS TO ALLOW

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SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO TIME TO RESPOND TO OUR PROPOSAL. THE FOUR SUGGESTED THAT FRIDAY, APRIL 34, OR MONDAY, APRIL 17, MIGHT BE POSSIBLE STARTING DATES FOR FORMAL SC MEETINGS. THEY AGREED THAT APRIL 17 IS THE LATEST FEASIBLE DATE FOR COMMENCEMENT OF FORMAL SC CONSIDERATION OF THE PROBLEM BECAUSE OF THE OPENING OF THE SPECIAL SESSION ON APRIL 24.

4. WE REPLIED THAT IT MIGHT WELL NOT BE HELPFUL TO HAVE RECEIVED THE REACTIONS WHEN THE COUNCIL MEETINGS BEGIN, AND THAT IN ANY EVENT IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE COUNCIL MEETINGS MIGHT PROVIDE PRESSURE ON BOTH PARTIES TO RESPOND FAVORABLY TO OUR PROPOSAL. THE FOUR REMAINED FIRM, ARGUING THAT THE FIRST QUESTION THAT THE COUNCIL MEMBERS WILL ASK IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS IS, "WHAT REACTIONS HAVE YOU RECEIVED FROM SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA?" THEY SAID WE WOULD BE UNABLE TO GET AFRICAN AND POSSIBLY NONALIGNED PARTICIPATION IN THE DEBATE UNTIL SWAPO'S VIEW WAS KNOWN. THE FOUR WERE ALSO RELUCTANT TO MOVE AHEAD QUICKLY WITH THE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS. THEY NOTED OUR DESIRE TO HOLD INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON APRIL 11 BUT ASKED THAT THE DATE OF

INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AND THE PRECISE DATE OF THE START OF THE FORMAL MEETINGS (I.E. FRIDAY, APRIL 14, OR MONDAY, APRIL 17) BE SET LATER IN LIGHT OF "DEVELOPMENTS".

5. LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS ON TIMING DID NOT ALLOW GROUP OPPORTUNITY TO FOCUS ON STRATEGY IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE BRITISH AND CANADIANS DID, HOWEVER, EXPRESS THE VIEW THAT THE TWO-STAGE APPROACH DESCRIBED ABOVE IS UNREALISTIC AND THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT

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INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ARA-10 EA-10
NEA-10 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /105 W
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O 060545Z APR 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

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TO OBTAIN A DIRECT, SIMPLE COUNCIL ENDORSEMENT
OF OUR PROPOSAL SEPARATE FROM A MANDATE AUTHORIZING
SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND
PROCEED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL. CONTACT
GROUP EXPECTS TO DISCUSS STRATEGY AGAIN AM APRIL 6

IN LIGHT OF COMMENTS FROM CAPITALS ON TODAY'S DISCUSSION.

6. COMMENT. WHILE U.S. APPEARS TO BE ALONE IN PRESSING
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FOR EARLY FORMAL SC SESSION REGARDLESS OF WHETHER REACTIONS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED FROM SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA, MISSION BELIEVES THAT PROBLEM OF TIMING SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO BECOME GREATER THAN IT REALLY IS. THE FIVE HAVE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD GO TO SECURITY COUNCIL IN ADVANCE OF THE SPECIAL SESSION. SHORTNESS OF TIME BEFORE START OF SPECIAL SESSION WILL NECESSITATE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING SOON. CONSULTATIONS CUSTOMARILY PRECEDE FORMAL MEETING BY AT LEAST ONE DAY. SHEER TECHNICAL WORK OF TRANSLATING AND DISTRIBUTING PROPOSAL COULD WELL TAKE TWO DAYS. THUS CG DIFFERENCES REGARDING TIMING OF FORMAL COUNCIL MEETING, EVEN THOUGH STEMMING FROM A SIGNIFICANT CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCE (I.E., WHETHER OR NOT TO AWAIT RESPONSES BEFORE ACTING), REALLY COME DOWN TO A MATTER OF ONLY A FEW DAYS -- PERHAPS APRIL 13 AT THE EARLIEST OR APRIL 17 AT LATEST. APRIL 14 SEEMS LOGICAL COMPROMISE, AND WE BELIEVE OTHER FOUR WILL LEAN TOWARD THAT AS OPPOSED TO THE 17TH IN THEIR REPORTING TO CAPITALS. END COMMENT.

7. WITH REGARD TO UPCOMING SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE, FRENCH INFORMED GROUP THAT GABONESE AMBASSADOR N'DONG ADVISED THEM APRIL 5 THAT IN THE EVENT THAT SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION WAS HELD BEFORE THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION, HE COULD NOT SPEAK IN THE COUNCIL. HE EXPLAINED THAT HIS PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE COMING TO THE SPECIAL SESSION AND THAT, THEREFORE, HE COULD HARDLY PREEMPT HIS CHIEF BY TAKING A POSITION ON NAMIBIA. N'DONG REPORTEDLY WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA WAS DISCUSSED RECENTLY IN THE AFRICAN GROUP, WHICH HAD EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR ADJOURNING ANY SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION BEFORE START OF SPECIAL SESSION AND
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RECONVENING AFTERWARDS. MISSION WILL ATTEMPT TO SOUND OUT AFRICAN VIEWS ON THIS MATTER.

8. IN AFTERNOON MEETING OF CONTACT GROUP, THE OTHER FOUR PRESENTED THEIR VIEWS ON U.S. REQUEST THAT THEY JOIN US IN OUR ASSURANCE TO SWAPO ON WALVIS BAY. IN

FIRM AND FREQUENTLY EMOTIONAL TERMS CANADA, FRANCE, AND UK EXPRESSED THEIR EXTREME DISTRESS THAT WE HAD UNDERTAKEN UNILATERALLY TO INFORM NIGERIANS AND FRONTLINE REPRESENTATIVES THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO PROVIDE PRIVATE AND LATER PUBLIC ASSURANCE TO SWAPO ON WALVIS BAY. FRENCH CALLED THIS ACTION "NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF CONSULTATION WHICH HAD SO FAR EXISTED WITHIN THE FIVE". BRITISH TERMED OUR ACTION EVIDENCE OF "BAD FAITH" WHICH WAS "HARDLY AN EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED COOPERATION WITH WHICH THE FIVE HAVE OPERATED IN THE PAST". CANADIANS EXPRESSED SIMILAR CONCERNS AND ARGUED THAT IF THE FIVE WERE TO JOIN WITH THE U.S. IN THIS ACTION IT WOULD IRRETRIEVABLY TIP THE BALANCE OF OUR OVERALL SETTLEMENT PACKAGE IN FAVOR OF SWAPO. BRITISH ADDED THAT ANY PRIVATE ASSURANCES TO SWAPO BY THE FIVE COULD LEAK AND DISASTROUSLY AFFECT WESTERN FIVE EFFORTS. ALL THREE STATED THAT THEY DID NOT DISAGREE WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR INTENDED APPROACH TO SWAPO BUT THAT THEY VERY MUCH OBJECTED TO THE TIMING. ALL THREE SAID THAT THEY WOULD BE UNABLE TO JOIN THE U.S. IN SUCH AN APPROACH AT THIS TIME.

9. THE GERMANS, WHILE CONSIDERABLY MORE POSITIVE, WERE NOT AS HELPFUL AS WE HAD EXPECTED. THE GERMAN POSITION WAS THAT THEY WERE SURPRISED AT OUR UNILATERAL ACTION BUT THAT THEY FINALLY FELT THEY HAD TO ACCEPT IT AS A FAIT ACCOMPLIS. THEREFORE, IN THE INTEREST OF UNITY THEY BELIEVE THAT THE FOUR SHOULD JOIN WITH THE

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U.S. IN MAKING THE APPROACH TO SWAPO. FRG STATED THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO JOIN BUT ONLY IF THE REST OF THE FIVE DO. GERMANS ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT, IF FIVE MAKE THE APPROACH TO SWAPO, A WAY BE FOUND TO ENSURE THAT

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NEA-10 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /105 W
-----010209 060710Z /11

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SOUTH AFRICANS BE ADVISED AND NOT BE SURPRISED TO
LEARN OF IT THROUGH THEIR OWN CHANNELS.

10. AS DISCUSSION ENSUED, BRITISH ASKED WHETHER U.S.
MIGHT RECONSIDER THE TIMING OF ITS INTENDED APPROACH
TO SWAPO. THEY ASKED IF WE MIGHT HOLD OFF ON ANY SUCH
ACTION UNTIL AFTER THE FIVE HAD RECEIVED THE REACTIONS
OF SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO TO THE PROPOSAL; THEN THEY SAID
THEY MIGHT BE WILLING TO JOIN IN THE APPROACH AS PART OF
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A TRADE-OFF IN WHICH AN EQUAL ASSURANCE ON ANOTHER ISSUE
MIGHT BE GIVEN TO SOUTH AFRICA. (UK MENTIONED, FOR
EXAMPLE, THE LIKELIHOOD THAT WE WILL BE CONFRONTED WITH
SAG DEMANDS FOR POLICE AT THE BORDER.) ALL OF
THE OTHERS AGREED, NOTING REPEATEDLY THAT THEY DID NOT
OPPOSE THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR INTENDED APPROACH BUT ONLY
THE TIMING. WE RESPONDED THAT OUR INTENTION IN
PROVIDING THE ASSURANCE TO SWAPO ON WALVIS BAY WOULD BE
TO FAVORABLY INFLUENCE THEIR RESPONSE TO OUR PROPOSAL;
THEREFORE, IT WOULD BE SELF-DEFEATING TO WAIT UNTIL THE
REACTIONS OF SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA HAD
BEEN MADE. WE ALSO URGED (STATE 087130) THAT IF THE
DANGER OF LEAKS IS TO BE MET, THE BEST WAY WOULD BE FOR

THE FIVE TO ADVISE THE SAG OF OUR INTENTIONS.

11. AS MEETING CONCLUDED ALL FOUR URGED THAT WE NOT PROCEED UNILATERALLY AND ADDED THAT IF WE INSISTED THEY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO JOIN US. WE ASSURED THEM THAT WE WOULD REPORT THEIR VIEWS TO THE DEPARTMENT.

12. FOLLOWING ARE DRAFT TALKING POINTS AGREED UPON BY CONTACT GROUP AD REFERENDUM FOR USE IN APPROACH TO SWAPO IN LUSAKA ON APRIL 7:

-- THE GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA, FRANCE, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE NOW PROVIDED COPIES OF OUR REVISED PROPOSAL FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION TO THOSE PARTIES PRINCIPALLY CONCERNED. HAVING DONE SO, WE FEEL THAT IT IS TIME THE PROPOSAL BE MADE FORMALLY AVAILABLE TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL.

-- ACCORDINGLY, WE INTEND TO TRANSMIT THE REVISED
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PROPOSAL TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON MONDAY, APRIL 10. WE WOULD EXPECT THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO MEET ON THIS QUESTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

-- WE KNOW THAT OUR PROPOSAL IS RECEIVING YOUR MOST CAREFUL CONSIDERATION, AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO AN EARLY AND FAVORABLE RESPONSE.

13. CONTACT GROUP AGREED THAT SAME TALKING POINTS SHOULD BE USED FOR APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICANS IN CAPE TOWN ON APRIL 7 WITH ONE ADDITION: AT END OF SECOND TICK THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE SHOULD BE ADDED: "WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DEAL WITH OUR PROPOSAL, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT IS BASED ON A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, BEFORE THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY." LEONARD

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETING REPORTS, WALVIS BAY, POLITICAL CONCESSIONS, NATIONALISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978USUNN01261
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780148-0505
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780483/aaaacstm.tel
Line Count: 374
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a1b1d4b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 87036
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3048194
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETINGS OF APRIL 5
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, SF, WA, US, CA, FR, GE, UK, UN, SWAPO
To: STATE BONN
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a1b1d4b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
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Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014